LEGISLATIVE BUSINESS

1. The Cochin Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General):* Sir, I rise to move that the Cochin Code of Civil Procedure (Amendment) Bill may be taken up and finally passed.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I second it.

Motion put and carried

2. The Cochin Motor Vehicles Bill

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Sir, I rise to move that the Cochin Motor Vehicles Bill† be taken into consideration. Standing Order 32 has already been suspended by the President.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General):* I second it.

Motion put and carried

Clauses 2 to 129 put and carried

Schedules 1 to 10 put and carried

Clause 1, Title and Preamble put and carried

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* Sir, I move that the Bill be taken up and finally passed tomorrow.

Mr. M. Sivarama Menon *(Advocate-General):* I second it.

Motion put and carried

RESOLUTIONS

4 & 5. Grant of further Constitutional Reforms—*(cont.)*

*Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* Sir, It was not my intention to take part in this debate, because I was thinking that this debate was assuming the form of an academic discussion. But the speech of the Secretary to Government yesterday compels me to make a few observations. His position with regard to the 3 resolutions that are before the Council, when analysed, comes to this. He dismisses the resolution of Mr. Subramania Ayyar as too idealistic. As regards giving effect to the resolution of Mr. T. K. Nayar, although it does not give any time limit, he points to Mr. Pylee's resolution that the change should be given effect to only at the beginning of the next Council.

†See Appendix.

*Speech not corrected by the hon'ble member.

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Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* May I correct myself? There is absolute, total, complete misconception. I never adverted to any one resolution, I will repeat what I said in 4 sentences. Whether in that modified form or whether in that ideal form contained in the other 3 resolutions, the subject has always attracted the earnest attention of Government. My second statement was, this is not the first time that it comes. On the previous occasion when it came in the full form, we have given a statement here supplemented by a statement given by the Diwan-President. Then the Government position was made very clear. The third statement which I made was that there is in the Government of Cochin Act itself a statutory forecast of this inevitable corollary from having taken the first step. The fourth statement was, in any view of the matter, it is inopportune. If viewed as an invitation for an immediate action by Government, it is premature, because this Council has not come to a close. If it is an invitation for a further pronouncement of policy, it is superfluous. I simply made this statement. I never referred to any resolution. There is a special name in logic—imagine what the opponents could have told you and then answer him—called tergiverisation, a very big word. You are illustrating that very big word in logic.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* In effect I think the Hon'ble President has also understood that I have not misunderstood the Government position. In effect it is this. Government have made a pronouncement two years ago, and they have nothing more to add to what was said two years ago. That is the effect of all he said. He says that the demand for an immediate grant of responsible government is not practicable, and it is too idealistic. The request for the transfer of 3 departments to Ministers chosen by the Legislative Council also cannot be done now, because two years ago Government stated that it was not yet time and that they were simply watching how the working of those reforms will be. That is the reason given for not accepting Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution, although he does not say when they should be transferred. He was so careful and left it so beautifully vague, that absolutely there should not be any difficulty to accept it. Such an innocent resolution Government could not consider favourably.

Mr. President: Government are not opposing Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* I expected that the Government would say that.

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Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I said that beyond making that statement, we propose to take no part in the discussion at all. We are neither opposing nor supporting it.

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* Are the Government opposing the other resolutions regarding the grant of full responsible government?

Mr. President: We do not know the view of the hon'ble members.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* Will the Government be in a position to say that they accept Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution?

Mr. President: Government would not oppose the resolution. They would not vote against it.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* Having accepted the principle of this resolution and conceded the right of the elected representatives of the people.....

Mr. President: The Secretary said that the principle of Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution has been accepted in the Government of Cochin Act.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* The Government are only at the stage of the Government of Cochin Act. That is why I wanted to say a few words. I am really sorry and surprised to find that the Government are still where they were before. They have not progressed an inch although they have given an opportunity to find out how the Act will work. The only question is, when Government are going to carry out the principle of the Act further, *i.e.*, the transfer of other departments to the control of Ministers, I cannot understand why they cannot at least think of transferring one department after the other, step by step. If they do not do it, I want to tell the Government that there is very great danger ahead. Government must already be aware that the aim of all the political parties in the State is the attainment of full responsible government under the aegis of His Highness the Maharaja. There is no dispute about that. Then the question is when they should get it. Government have conceded the position by the Government of Cochin Act. They have given us this diarchical form of government, and the people of the country accepted or agreed to work that constitution not because they were really satisfied, not because they thought that it would work smoothly in the Cochin State. No doubt, they were completely aware that it did not work satisfactorily in British India. They know there will be difficulties in working it in the State. But considering the special

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circumstances existing in the State, feeling that there is not so much conflict of interests here as in British India between Government and the people, we thought we would make an earnest attempt to work the diarchical form of government that was granted to us. For the last 2 years we have been trying our level best to work it in as efficient a manner as is possible for us. If there is a country where responsible government can be given, it is Cochin. No other country than Cochin is more suited for these reforms. The first objection that is generally found in any other place is the transfer of power by the Sovereign to the representatives of the people. But so far as Cochin is concerned we are in a happy position that our Rulers, our Maharajas are so democratically minded that they have no objection to transfer their powers to the representatives of the people. They have evinced this desire in many different ways. When that is the position and when the people also are highly educated and conscious of their political powers, what is the harm in transferring a few more departments? Also take along with this the fact that the administration is directed, controlled and managed by the men of the soil, no doubt barring the one exception of the Diwan. The only difference is that the men who run the administration are the men appointed by Government and not elected by the people. But they are of the people, they are men of the locality. Taken along with this fact, all the circumstances will go to show that we are pre-eminently fitted to take up straightaway the administration of the State. We have proved also that we can co-operate with the Government and work it in as efficient a manner as possible. I must in this connection enter an emphatic voice of protest against the present idea of postponing the transfer of more departments.

Mr. President : Did the Secretary say that Government wish to postpone the demand?

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* He did not say it in so many words. But the result of his speech was that. The implication is that. The Government of Cochin Act was passed some years ago, and he is not to take up one step further although the world and the Cochin State are moving rapidly, and we have also demonstrated that we are able to work the reforms. If things are left like this what happens? All the evils of the diarchical system will creep in, and instead of being an advantage to the State, it will work greater harm than autocratic government. Here are a set of people who are prepared to work the reforms, who show to Government that they are not able to work the reforms fully and not able to carry out their intentions because of the difficulties inherent in a

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diarchical system of government. The central fact of a democratic form of government is the control of the purse. Without the control of the purse, nobody is expected to have bold initiative in any action. If the Minister is expected to depend upon the giving of satisfaction to somebody else for his schemes, it will not be possible for any man to think and boldly initiate measures of reforms for the welfare of the people of the State. That is the difficulty. We have come to this stage, and we cannot move, and if we are allowed to stagnate in this position, it is a danger to the country.

Mr. President: Is the hon'ble member supporting Mr. Subramania Ayyar's resolution? Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution does not contemplate the transfer of finance.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* I shall make my position clear and immediately state my conclusions. I expected this Government to read all the 3 resolutions together and give effect to all these 3 resolutions together if they have any real genuine sympathy with us. They can adopt a *via media* or compromise. Mr. T. K. Nayar does not give a time-limit to his resolution. Mr. Pylee's resolution gives a time-limit and Mr. Subramania Ayyar wants it immediately. A compromise can be easily struck between these 3. During the life of this Council these 3 departments can be transferred to the Minister, and by the advent of the next Council full responsible government can be given.

Mr. T. V. Subramania Ayyar *(Nemmara):* That is a hypothetical proposition. I do not know who is my friend and who is my foe.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* It is so clear we are asked to be practical men. I must say that if Government give an assurance, at least a hint that they are going, within a reasonable time, to accept the transfer of 3 departments to Ministers, then, I think we can understand the position and we can wait. But there is not the slightest hint on the part of Government.

Mr. President: It will not satisfy Mr. Ikkanda Warriar and those who think with him merely by the transfer of these 3 departments. Even if these 3 departments are transferred now, Mr. Warriar and those who think with him will be satisfied only if full responsible government is given next year.

Mr. E. Ikkanda Warriar *(Cheruthuruthi):* I can, as a practical man, even allow Government some time, if they are earnest enough in their intentions. We are prepared to wait for another year or such reasonable time as is necessary, if responsible government is promised now. But the spirit of the Government reply was not

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like that. They are as they were two years ago. They have nothing to add to what they said then. We are not satisfied with that sort of statement. It will be highly dangerous to the interests of the State to allow the administration to go on in this fashion for a long time, lest it should deteriorate. I, therefore, submit for the consideration of this House that if Government are not prepared to give us any idea as to when they are going to give us a further instalment of reforms, having had the experience of working this scheme for 2 years, which to me is more than sufficient for the Government to come to a decision, we must certainly agitate for more powers.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Sir, I rise to support Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution and I think the other resolutions are superfluous. The question of full responsible government being introduced into the State has passed the stage of controversy from this House. I have been one of the foremost people who have demanded responsible government to be established in the State.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* What a change, my countrymen! *(Laughter).*

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* And to-day, I stand and say in this House that the stage for asking for full responsible government has passed, becuase the principle of giving us responsible government has been proclaimed under the Government of Cochin Act. The Government of Cochin Act has changed the epoch of what I call Indo-British bayonet autocracy in Cochin to the rule of law in Cochin. The unfortunate position of the princes of India may be put as between the upper stone and the nether stone. The upper stone is the Paramount Power acting quietly and smoothly through the Political Department. The nether stone is the Princes' Diwans that come into the State. The Princes cannot withstand the pressure that comes from the Paramount Power and they also cannot withstand the advice that comes from the Diwans. The Diwans of Indian States have thus become absolute, irresponsible autocrats who are not responsible either to the British Government or to the people of the land or even to the Rulers of the land. The Ruler of the land must accept the advice of the Diwan.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* The Ruler can dismiss his Diwan at any time.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* That is a different matter. But that is the ruling of the Paramount Power. Under this position we have been demanding that the Rulers of this State must at least be made responsible to somebody and we thought that they must be made responsible to the people of the land. The ultimate

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responsibility for all these Governments rests in England, on the voter of the Boroughs of England, because Parliament can control through their Agent in India all the Princes. What is the difficulty that they give out for establishing Swaraj in India? They say, there is the question of Princes, there is the question of Hindu-Muslim unity, the safeguarding of minority interests, and unless you decide these things yourselves, they cannot do anything. What is the position here? We have no Hindu-Muslim question here. We have no such minority interests. The interests of the people are identically the same. Therefore, what stands in the way of our right to control our own affairs? That is the only question.

Now, the Government of Cochin Act comes and says: "Hereafter the Rulers of Cochin have made up their minds to become constitutional sovereigns who will govern the land by means of law." That changed the epoch altogether. I am not satisfied with this kind of Government of Cochin Act, because they reserve power to legislate completely in their hands, in spite of the establishment of a legislature. That is a power which, I say, was only derived from the point of the bayonets. Under the Hindu Law or the Muhammadan Law the sovereigns have no power to legislate but only to execute the laws of the land. But the Indian-States-British-Union came in, and this additional power was devolved for the purpose of making any law that the Paramount Power wants to be passed over the heads of the people in spite of their will, against their will and without any consideration of their will. It was for that purpose that when the first little reform of a Legislative Council being introduced in the Cochin State, that the last section in Act VIII of 1098 was added—that in spite of all that had gone before, the power to make any law at any time is still reserved with "Us". And that has been copied in the Government of Cochin Act also. We have no quarrels over that. We understand how that comes there and why that comes there. What I wish to submit is, that we can never have a complete responsible government in this land because there is a Paramount Power and the relations between the Paramount Power.....

Mr. M. K. Devassy *(Adur):* It is sedition to say that.

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Let it be sedition.

Therefore, we can have one kind of responsible government, and that is within the sphere of our internal administration inside Cochin, regulating the affairs of our life. As far as the power vested in the Cochin State is concerned that power we can ask to be exercised under the control of a legislature in Cochin. My contention is, therefore, that the time for asking for full responsible government

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after this Act is gone. Now what we want is to compel power from unwilling hands, who are not willing to part with their power, to compel them as much as we can and as powerfully as we can, and wrest it out of their hands. How can we do it? The only method is to press section 8 on to the attention of His Highness through this Council and demands made here. The people here are demanding, your Highness having told us that you will transfer little by little all the departments to us, under section 8, to transfer a few more departments to us. In this way we will continue to demand, year by year, little by little, and when all the departments come into our hands we would have got all that we want, and these members of the Government that are seated here will vanish from this House, as they are vanishing little by little. With the advent of the Minister the Public Health Department vanished from here, the Agricultural Department vanished, the Co-operative Department vanished and the Minister has taken the place. After all responsible government means that the persons who control the policy and lay down the policy of the Government will be not the officers of the government who draw fat salaries. These people who are actually servants must vanish from this House. Control must be exercised and the policy must be laid down by the elected representatives of the people who come into this Council. Therefore, this *servant-master-Government-system* must vanish. They must be regular servants. What a danger we are exposed to! We have to criticise them and they say we are helpless. Yet, they pretend that they are doing things themselves. And we shower our criticisms on to them. They carry it on to their offices and what all follow, you and I know, and everybody knows. So the people who are in actual charge of the transactions of Government should never be here. That is the point. Therefore, how can we bring that about? By asking the transfer of the control of departments to us. Section 3 of the Government of Cochin Act has given us the rule of law. Section 8 says that as soon as His Highness is satisfied that departments should be transferred, he can do so. The question is, have we come to a stage when we can with propriety and with reason and with fairness ask Him for the transfer of more departments to our hands. It is admitted on all sides that as early as 1895 Bishop Whitehead wrote in the *Nineteenth Century and After* that if there is one piece of land anywhere in India where the experiment of responsible government can be tried, that piece of land is the Cochin State. From 1895 to 1940, 45 years have rolled on, and if after 45 years' progress and education and character building we have not come to the stage of getting the transfer of all departments into our hands, then I say our progress is nothing, and you have not appreciated our progress. You boast

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that Cochin is the most educated piece of land with very law-abiding people, who know law and who can criticise well the Government openly without reserve; then I say, if these people are not fit to get more power vouchsafed unto them, then no people on the face of the globe is fit. Our fitness is not one for our boast, but is one which we say is sufficient for you to transfer more departments to the control of the people of the land. As a matter of fact the administration, as my friend Mr. Warriar has pointed out, is entirely manned by the people of Cochin themselves and there is no case that they cannot manage the departments. Some time ago many of the Heads of Departments were foreigners. But today we do not find any distinction in the administration by the foreigners or by our local indigenous talents. That is the criterion. If our administration can be carried on by our own people, recruited from our own land, then why not recruit from the elected representatives of the people, those that will lay down the policy? After all, Sir, what is going to happen? Regarding the financial control I do not think that the Diwan has got any financial control. I do not think the reserved half has got any financial control. The finances of the State are all controlled by the Constitution Act. The Constitution Act lays down in section 9 how the transaction of business will be carried, where the finance is to be kept is laid down, how the finances are to be dealt with, how the Comptroller can cut down the bills of any department and scrutinise the expenditure, all these things are laid down. That is the financial control. Financial control! How can the House exercise it? Reserved financial burden as to the obligations of the State are all laid down in one of the sections. In section 28 expenditure which the Government is forced to incur is given in detail. It need not be submitted to the vote of the House. That is reserved. Similarly, Sir, you have been telling that people in Cochin must think about the relations between the Paramount Power and the State, and how that can be adjusted when responsible government is established and when power is transferred to the people. We have thought about it. Whatever obligations that now rest between the Cochin State and the Paramount Power will remain in tact, whether Cochin is administered under what I call the Indo-British autocratic system or the Indo-British autocratic system plus a legislative Council of the sort that we have and the dyarchical system added on to it. Whatever be the system, the obligations that remain between the Paramount Power and the State will have to be discharged by even the representatives of the people's Government. There is no escape from that. That is a treaty between the State and the Paramount Power and if we do not go by the treaty, they know how to enforce the terms of it. The forces of India are in

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their hands and they will come down with the force and compel you to do it. What is the difficulty there? Every obligation that His Highness has to discharge has been reserved in the Act. So whatever financial burdens have been imposed are all here. They have to be carried, whoever be the Government of Cochin. It is a question of the machinery of administration that has to be dealt with now. The constitution has changed from autocracy to responsible government. The machinery of administration has to be changed. Therefore, I say in the place of having an irresponsible Diwan who is not responsible either to this House or to anybody else, let us have a responsible Prime Minister of the State. Our people also are aspiring to that position. Far-sighted men, who had less educational qualifications than the present generation, have been administering to the entire satisfaction of the Paramount Power, to the entire satisfaction of His Highness and to the entire satisfaction of the people. Today, to say that we have not men enough who could administer Cochin and its affairs will be a sad thing indeed. And when we go into the Federation, it does not matter who administer here, because we will go to administer somewhere else. Therefore, there is no necessity of supporting Mr. Subramania Ayyar's resolution at all, because responsible government has been given to us.

Mr. A. V. Moothedan *(Chalakkudi):* Has it been given to us?

Mr. A. B. Salem *(Mattancheri):* Ownership has been transferred but possession has not yet been given. Let us take possession little by little, and that is the attempt that we are now making. Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution is the proper resolution and the only resolution that is necessary, and therefore I say that the other resolution is superfluous at this stage. Therefore, Sir, I submit that on account of the wisdom, courage, the constitutional methods, the mutual respect, the good sense, the goodwill that we have been exhibiting in our dealings with the Government inside this Council and outside, I say in the face of the demand that is made all over India for absolute independence we here only ask "Let us control our own affairs". Enable us to do that, and I think, Sir, you coming from outside, having a view of the whole of India and outside, should be able to testify to our fitness to His Highness, our Maharaja, to give us another instalment of the possession of the realm that has been transferred already to us. We have got 25 Boards working inside the State. There has been no trouble. Every department, education, medicine, purchase of medicine, purchase of store, Road Board, Examination Board, Bar Council, in all I have counted 25 Committees working. With all these 25 Committees they are all functioning

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well. Therefore, the fear that we will not function well is to be eradicated completely from the mind. Mistakes we may commit. Look at the mistake made in the British Parliament. Look at the mistake they made in America. Look at the mistake they committed in France. Because we may make mistakes, that will be no ground to deny us our birth-right. Self-government is my birth-right and therefore I will demand it. Therefore, give it to us with grace. Let us not quarrel for it, let us not fight for it. But this kind of constitutional fight will steadily be maintained by us, until and unless the whole of the Administration of Cochin passes under popular control of this House. I am looking forward to the day when the Prime Minister of Cochin will replace the irresponsible Diwan, and the Prime Minister will sit in this House under an elected President of this House. Sir, even the President of the Assembly is elected. Even the Presidents of the Provincial Councils are elected, while in the Indian States, the Diwans are not willing to submit the executive to the legislature. The executive comes before the legislature in the scheme of arrangements. The executive wants to control the legislature instead of the legislature being allowed legitimately to control the executive. Our demand is a righteous demand, and I do not think that with any reason you can deny us that demand. Therefore, I support Mr. T. K. Nayar's resolution.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* Sir, I support the resolution moved by Mr. T. K. Nayar. This resolution and the resolution moved by Mr. Subramania Ayyar have both got the same object in view, *viz.*, the attainment of full responsible government. While Mr. Nayar would reach that goal by a series of progressive steps Mr. Subramania Ayyar wants to make a sudden leap right up to that goal. There have been several resolutions and motions moved in this House in the past for the establishment of full responsible government. At that time the attention of the House was solely on the goal of responsible government and not on the process of evolution towards that goal. It was a time when the goal of responsible government was held in doubt, and when constitutional lawyers were hurling objections at the people that there were legal impediments in the way of granting responsible government arising out of the treaty obligations of the Indian Princes towards the Paramount Power. This House discussed the various aspects and unhesitatingly accepted the goal of responsible governmant. The Government have irrevocably committed themselves to that goal. The goal is no longer in issue. Now the question is the process to be adopted for attaining that goal. Mr. Nayar places before this House a concrete proposal about the next step of our progress towards that goal. He says that

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as the next step in our march towards that goal a few more departments should be transferred to popular Ministers. I support that resolution. I accept that suggestion as the next step that should properly be taken in our march towards that goal. To this concrete suggestion by Mr. Nayar we expect that the Government would say something more than the reply they had previously given. The Secretary to the Government said that he had nothing more to add than what had been stated by his predecessor-in-office during the 1114 Vrischigam meeting.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* He characterised the resolution as practical and reasonable. That means acceptable.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* He said that he had nothing more to add.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I said "in a modified form and idealistic".

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* You said practical and reasonable.

Mr. K. Achyuta Menon *(Secretary to Government):* I think I am a better judge of what I said. The speech is there. I have not touched it.

Mr. K. Ayyappan *(Ezhuvas-Kanayannur):* Then it will be there.

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* I have said that the Government have accepted the principle that the goal of political evolution in Cochin is the establishment of full responsible government. Consistent with that admission by the government and consistent with the policy which the Government have stated to be their policy, *i.e.*, the attainment of that goal by a series of progressive steps, we have placed before them a concrete proposal. Now, our question is: "What do you say to that concrete proposal coming from us?" We expect the Government to say, as the Secretary is said to have stated by the hon'ble member Mr. Ayyappan, that it is practical and reasonable and if I may say so acceptable. I can well appreciate the practical difficulties of the Government for making an admission on the floor of this House on an important matter like this. What I say is that we hope that this practical suggestion coming from Mr. T. K. Nayar, being consistent with the policy of the Government and leading us towards that goal which they have already accepted to be their goal as well as our goal, will find proper response in their subsequent conduct.

Sir, I wish to add a few words about the resolution of Mr. Subramania Ayyar. I think consistent with the view which I

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have taken of the resolution of Mr. T. K. Nayar, the resolution of Mr. Subramania Ayyar has to be opposed. The idea of placing the resolution of Mr. T. K. Nayar before the House and passing it is that we should place a definite proposal before the Government. If the question of the next step in the direction of our goal is seriously considered, we must give a definite proposal. It would be meaningless to give two or three alternative proposals and ask the Government to choose one or the other. When we ask them to accept either, they may accept neither. Consistent with the seriousness with which the whole question has to be looked at, I submit that these who support Mr. Nayar's resolution have to oppose Mr. Subramania Ayyar's resolution whatever be the earnestness with which we desire the attainment of the goal of responsible government. I am saying that this is a concrete proposal which has to be seriously advanced if we really expect that it will be seriously considered. Whatever be our desire to have complete responsible government we say that we will proceed towards the goal of responsible government by a series of progressive steps. After having accepted that, I say it will be meaningless and weakening Mr. Nayar's resolution if we accept Mr. Subramania Ayyar's resolution also.

Mr. V. K. Krishnan Kutty *(Ezhuvas Trichur):* The Government are not going to oppose it. Why should you oppose it?

Mr. T. P. Poulose *(Kanayannur):* I am not appealing to the Government but I am appealing to the House To my mind it appears that if we are to have complete responsible government the process of evolution involves a double process, *viz.*, the progressive grant of power by His Highness the Maharaja to the people and a steady development of their ability and skill to exercise that power properly. These two processes have to work side by side. Responsible government is not a factory product of Great Britain which we have only to import into this country and work. If it has to be worked satisfactorily there should be certain conditions and environments necessary for its working. There is in this State, I submit, as Mr. Devassy and some other members pointed out, great educational progress. There are a large number of people in Cochin who are politically conscious. Several people are watching the trend of public affairs with interest. They are watching our conduct with interest. Mr. Warriar was saying that all the official members in this House are people of the State and if they can administer the State properly, why not we have responsible government? Now, the institution of responsible government will have to be worked in such a manner that those talented men would come to the top by

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that process. I say it is not enough if the people of the State are educated. It is not enough if they have got a political sense. It is not enough if we have got able men. The institution must be efficiently and successfully worked as to bring up these elements to the top so that they may carry on the administration. I do not wish to go into the various details, the various conditions and environments that have to be developed for the successful working of responsible government. I would refer only to the party system of government. I ask the House whether it is possible to have a stable government without a well organised party system. I should think that the party system is at the same time the strength and the weakness of a cabinet under a scheme of responsible government. It is on account of the party system that the cabinet is subordinated to public opinion. At the same time without a well organised party system it will not be possible to have a stable government. If party formations, defections, new formations, intershufflings and disintegration of parties are matters of common occurrence it will not be possible for any government to continue for any length of time. Governments will have to rise and fall in quick succession. It is true that we have made a rapid advance in the development and organisation of party system. But I think every member of this House will concede that we have to progress much more. I have referred to this party system only as one of the factors which we have to consider when we ask for the immediate establishment of full responsible government.

Mr. Subramania Ayyar referred to the theoretical imperfections in the diarchical system of government and the possibilities of practical difficulties in its working. After all, we have not accepted diarchy as the end of our political ambition. We have accepted it only as a means. Those who have granted it have given it on the basis that it is to lead us to the goal. As long as we have not reached the goal, as long as it falls short of the goal of our political evolution, it must necessarily be imperfect. But the question is, what practical difficulties have arisen in the working of the diarchical system. If it has not led to deadlocks, if it has not led to the financial starvation of the departments transferred, if we have been hitherto able to work it successfully, why not continue it temporarily during the period of transition during which we are marching towards the goal? The vehicle may be a very delicate one making it difficult for those who ride it to keep the balance. As long as we are able to keep the balance we will continue the ride. At the same time if the balance is to be kept the vehicle has to be moving on. If the motion is stopped it will tumble down. So I submit to the Government that they must propel the wheels occasionally and see that the vehicle is kept

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moving on, lest it should tumble down. With these words I support the resolution of Mr. T. K. Nayar.

Mr. President: If it is the desire of the House that they should resume discussion on this resolution tomorrow morning after question time, I have no objection.

Mr. T. K. Nayar *(Palayannur):* Yes Sir. It is better.

Mr. President: The discussion of this resolution will be resumed tomorrow morning after question time. In the afternoon resolution No. 6 will be taken up for discussion.

Discussions of resolutions Nos. 4 and 5 postponed to the next day.

The House rose for lunch at 1 p.m. and re-assumbled at 2-30 p.m. with M. R. Ry. K. Ayyappan Avl., the Deputy President in the Chair.

6. Famine Relief Works

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എസ്സ്. പണിക്കർ : സർ, എന്റെ പ്രമേയം കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു ഭാഗത്തെയൊ, ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു വിഭാഗത്തെയൊ മാത്രം ബാധിക്കുന്നതല്ല. നേരെമറിച്ച് കൊച്ചീരാജ്യം ഒട്ടുക്കു ബാധിക്കുന്ന തരത്തിലുള്ള ഒന്നാണ്. കയർ വ്യവസായത്തിന്റെ മാന്ദ്യംകൊണ്ട് ക്ഷാമം തെക്കൻ പ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ ശക്തിയായിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നുള്ളതു് നിസ്തർക്കമായ സംഗതി ആണ്.

"കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തിൽ ഒന്നുകൊണ്ടല്ലെങ്കിൽ മറെറാന്നുകൊണ്ടു് ക്ഷാമം ബാധിച്ച എല്ലാ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും ക്ഷാമനിവാരണ പണികൾ ഏറ്റെടുത്തുവാൻ ഈ കൌൺസിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു ശുപാർശചെയ്യുന്നു". ഇതാണ് പ്രമേയം.

Mr. K. R. Viswambharan *(Ezhuvas-Talappalli):* On a point of order, Sir, I invite the Hon'ble President's attention to rule 41 of the Cochin Legislative Council Rules. That rule says.—

"Provided that no resolution shall be admissible which does not comply with the following conditions namely.—

(a) It shall be in the from of a specific recommendation addressed to the Government;

(b) It shall be clearly and definitely expressed and shall raise a definite issue;

(c) It shall not contain arguments, inferences, ironical expressions or defamatory statements, nor shall it refer to the conduct or character of persons except in their official or public capacity".

Now, in this particular case even the hon'ble member who moved the resolution is very vague as will be seen from the wording of the resolution "ഒന്നുകൊണ്ടല്ലെങ്കിൽ മറെറാന്നുകൊണ്ടു്". It shall be clearly and definitely expressed and shall raise a definite issue. Now he is not sure how the present state of affairs has existed and moreover it is argumentative in character. He argues his position by saying that "കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തു് ക്ഷാമം ബാധിച്ച എല്ലാ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലും ക്ഷാമനിവാരണപണികൾ ഏറ്റെടുത്തുവാൻ ഈ കൌൺസിൽ ഗവമ്മെണ്ടിനോടു്"

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